

**ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW  
#369**

**ZENJI ABE  
JAPANESE NAVAL AVIATOR**

**INTERVIEWED ON  
OCTOBER 10, 1993  
BY JOHN F. DEVIRGILIO**

TRANSCRIBED BY:

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John deVirgilio (JD): October 10, 1993, Abe-*san*.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: I was with the stupid operation plan because no precise map. No precise...

JD: No map at all?

Interpreter: No, no. No map. Do you believe so?

JD: No!

Interpreter: No map, it's stupid! Not only no map, so this means that Mr. Abe didn't know anything about the location of air base. You see, this \_\_\_\_\_ turning around here and it's absolutely a wonderful coincidence that this small hole, inside of small hole, he could find out the city of Dutch Harbor and they bombed. And then...

JD: But didn't bomb though? They didn't bomb.

Interpreter: No. Just released.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: He was absolutely earnest. They did not exactly \_\_\_\_\_ to regular bombing. So his only skill is to dive. So he dive, as usual. And then, coming up to the, over the cloud again, and went back to, like this way...

JD: Around Dutch Harbor, around the island to this slot.

Interpreter: And then, this is called west point, *nishi* means west point. This is the rendezvous point. And then Umnak Island.

JD: It'd be this point somewhere out here. It's not on the map,  
the map is too...

Interpreter: Oh, I see, Umnak. And then this was the  
rendezvous point and they bet, they found later that this  
rendezvous point was just overhead of the air base!

(Laughter)

JD: American air base?

(Laughter)

JD: Oh, I can see the map is not very accurate at all.

Interpreter: It is unbelievable story.

JD: So totally bad mission, Dutch Harbor?

Interpreter: That's right.

JD: How about your opinion on Darwin[, Australia]? Eight ships sunk, nine others seriously damaged, must have been very successful, Darwin, February 19.

Zenji Abe (ZA): Eighteen ships.

JD: Eight ships sunk.

ZA: Eight ships.

JD: Yeah, one destroyer, two...

ZA: Navy?

JD: One navy, two freighters, two transporters and several other minor ships were sunk and nine others seriously damaged in

Darwin. What was your opinion of Darwin? You had a specific target in Darwin?

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Dutch Harbor, you're still on *Akagi*, right?

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: I mean, Darwin.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: *Akagi* and Nagumo-*san*.

ZA: Admiral Russell.

JD: Admiral...

ZA: I met him thirteen years ago in Dutch Harbor. Admiral  
Russell was commander.

JD: James Russell.

ZA: James Russell.

JD: Famous man.

ZA: I met him May of this year.

JD: Oh!

ZA: In San Antonio.

JD: Oh!

ZA: In symposium.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Admiral Russell is Dutch Harbor?

ZA: He was a commanding officer of the Naval Air Force in  
\_\_\_\_\_ when I attacked.

JD: Oh, I see.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Concerning to Darwin operation, you asked him a good question to answer. Mr. Abe explained that that operation was also absolutely unnecessary. Because of the fact that Japanese navy developed too wide range of operation, so even Japanese navy sunk several ships in Darwin, it hasn't made sense any vital effect to the whole operation. The Dutch Harbor operation is exactly same, no target, no purpose, no final aim. So that, he himself, the



\_\_\_\_\_ operation doesn't make any good effect to the whole war.

JD: So he doesn't think it was a very, big important mission at all.

Interpreter: That's right.

JD: So how many, still *Akagi*, second squadron dive-bomber. So you approach from the north, here is a Port Darwin map. In your approach, any particular route. This is north. The harbor entrance is slightly towards your left. This is the Darwin, Port Darwin, approach. Charles Point is on this side and you have Shoal Bay on your right, so any particular point did you get that...

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Based on unexpected success on Pearl Harbor attack, besides the two days after that, the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* of British Navy.

JD: Those were sunk.

Interpreter: Sunk. These two operations made the Japanese navy something crazy. And only expanded their operation area, day by day, wider and wider, and finally \_\_\_\_\_ stretch north of the Pacific Ocean to the Southern Australian, smaller island, small port, etcetera. In fact, the Japanese navy had never kept this kind of precise map of Darwin at that time. It is also incredible.

JD: I noticed the maps captured from pilots at Pearl Harbor is very, not too accurate.

Interpreter: That's right. That's right.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Mr. deVirgilio?

JD: Yes?

Interpreter: When Mr. Abe met this retired top commander, air force, \_\_\_\_\_, clearly mentioned, what is the reason why Japanese...

JD: This is Admiral Russell, from the Dutch Harbor commander?

Interpreter: Dutch Harbor. What is the purpose of the Japanese navy's attack to Dutch Harbor? So Mr. Abe mentioned that such an important mission introduced by the Admiral Kakuda, but Mr. Russell clearly mentioned that day, the Japanese navy attempted to cut off the United States, the strong navy force, to cut off their force at the north part of the ocean. But he said that actually Japan attacked Pearl

Harbor so they would fight with the Japanese navy. But Mr. Russell clearly mentioned that even if that first attack was successful, but the American navy never planned to invade such a northern Pacific territory, or Japanese island, from the northern part, or by coordinating between American navy and British navy at the southern ocean, near Port Darwin, etcetera. Never they planned to do such a too-wide operation. The Japanese commander planned to cut off such \_\_\_\_\_, very close connection between the U.S. and the British navy. Tried to cut off, but actually they had never planned such a big operation to the Japan island, because \_\_\_\_\_ World War II, your air force become very strong, so only aircraft can attack the Japanese island. So it doesn't make sense to attack with \_\_\_\_\_ Port Darwin or Dutch Harbor. So he clearly understood, even during the war.

ZA: I met him for the first time in Dutch Harbor, early May of 1982. That was fortieth anniversary of the \_\_\_\_\_

operation. And I asked, I made a question to him, forty years ago, at the time, in other words, year of 1942, was American navy capable to invade around the Aleutians and Kure Islands towards Japan? That's the first question. And if the American navy had the intention to do so.

Commander Russell said, "No, never happen!" because Japan \_\_\_\_\_, so we are here. He said.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: So to, real quick review here of, overall, you thought Dutch Harbor was a waste. No objective. Right, is that correct? Okay. You can \_\_\_\_\_ the videotape. And the maps are very poor. You did not have correct maps. You made three attacks on Dutch Harbor, all failed. Couldn't see. Could not see. And you returned back to the *Junyo*. So on one of them, the third one, or which one did you go and the P-40s attacked you? First one?

ZA: No.

JD: Second one?

ZA: Just reach the south end of Umnak Island, covered by cloud,  
just returned. Second, just returned.

JD: So, third...

ZA: I eliminate the inexperienced...

JD: Inexperienced, only eleven, right?

ZA: Eleven.

JD: Eleven dive-bombers again, third time.

ZA: And then I flew over Bering Sea, under cloud. And this I found, American air base at the east end of the neighboring island.

JD: And that was the rendezvous point also?

ZA: Rendezvous point!

JD: It was a P-40 base!

Interpreter: You see, he simply thought that some of the Zero fighters are waiting for him, but P\_\_\_\_\_...

JD: P-40s instead. So did you lose, of the eleven, anybody got shot down? No? Eleven?

ZA: So I had lost four within eleven.

JD: Four out of eleven were lost? Wow! And then returned with only seven then? On the third raid.

Now, the Port Darwin raid, how many did you lose, Port Darwin.

ZA: No, none.

JD: None. Port Darwin, same, is it in and out? The Port Darwin attack, straight in and then straight out?

ZA: Yeah.

JD: Any particular target?

ZA: No. I don't remember exactly. But just maybe ships.



JD: Looking for ships. Okay. So this is the Port Darwin map here. So was your route basically straight in, turn around and straight out?

ZA: Yes, I think so.

JD: Straight in. Was a very quick raid. Just attacking ships.

Back to the earlier Pearl Harbor questions, the recap questions. Basically the first wave dive-bombers are the inexperienced dive-bombers, so they attacked the air field. *Shokaku* and *Zuikaku*. Second wave, the more experienced *Akagi*, *Kaga*, *Soryu*, *Hiryu* attacked ships. Anti-ship bomb, is that correct? Anti-ship bomb.

Interpreter: Mainly to aim at their aircraft carrier.

JD: The main target is aircraft carriers. But no aircraft carriers, so any big ship. And the type of bomb was anti-ship bomb.

ZA: Anti-ship.

JD: Anti-ship.

ZA: Delay fuse.

JD: Delay fuse. And came more from the east, so you came from around Kaneohe, over Waimanalo, over Diamond Head and then right to Pearl Harbor. Attacked, straight it, straight out and you turned left, out to Barbers Point.

ZA: Used the machine gun.

JD: No strafing?

ZA: Except we \_\_\_\_\_ P-40, Dutch Harbor, in the...

JD: Ah! So you jettisoned in...

ZA: P-40. I used machine gun, but the other, no, India Ocean,  
no, Pearl Harbor, no.

JD: Never used a machine gun.

ZA: Never used machine gun.

JD: Only Dutch Harbor, used machine gun. And you left Pearl  
Harbor out through Barbers Point, down the west coast, out  
to rendezvous point?

ZA: Yes.

JD: But \_\_\_\_\_ from Pearl Harbor Day on, from October, you  
started practicing dropping at 400-meter distance and then  
pull out at fifty meters. That's correct?

ZA: Yes.

JD: Okay, I'm just reviewing all the things we talked about. And this morning, though, did not necessarily use the wind behind your back though. The wind, a little bit left to right was okay.

ZA: That's all right.

JD: Because very close. Okay and you lost, you said, the second man? The number two man in your squadron was shot down?

Interpreter: Do you know the name of aircrew? Goto. Goto, pilot. Goto, \_\_\_\_\_.

(Taping stops, then resumes)

JD: Goto, is this the second man, number two man?

ZA: Hmm [yes]. This is *Akagi*. Furuta, pilot of Chihaya, number one. Number one. Furuta, Chihaya.

(Conversation in Japanese)

ZA: One, two, three, one, two, three, one, two. This first column. The second from my name, Zenji Abe. Here. Observer and this one, second one, pilot Goto, Gen. His elder sister is living in Hiroshima and observer navigator \_\_\_\_\_ . His elder brother, maybe eighty-one, eighty-two years old in Shizuoka prefecture. They are waiting for the picture of the piece of...

JD: Hmm! I'll tell Martinez-*san*, picture for the piece.

ZA: Please. Okay.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Piece of the type ninety-nine. It came up on the beach, a piece. I'll mention this to Daniel Martinez, to please send you the pictures of this. I will make sure, yes.

Interpreter: How did he recognize that is Japanese...

JD: Inside the piece, they washed it off, is inscribed, Type 99 carrier bomber, so they knew it was from a dive-bomber.

Interpreter: It's a wonderful coincidence.

JD: Yeah.

ZA: Especially \_\_\_\_\_.

JD: So \_\_\_\_\_ is your second man, your number two man.

Interesting. Okay, you were in and out of harbor a couple minutes only, in and left the harbor, Pearl Harbor. Straight

in and straight out. Okay, so and then rendezvous and then back to the carriers.

ZA: Yes.

JD: At the rendezvous point, did you see any American planes at all? No?

ZA: I saw and my second \_\_\_\_\_, whose name is \_\_\_\_\_ now Motojima, he became a doctor and now he owns a big hospital.

JD: Oh yeah.

ZA: In Naguma prefecture. He's my assistant \_\_\_\_\_.  
Found civilian maybe...

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Civilian plane?

ZA: Yeah. Sightseeing.

JD: Sightseeing?

(Laughter)

ZA: He was interested to...

JD: Shoot at it.

ZA: Just one shot, two shot. (Inaudible) around that point.

JD: So the civilian plane came to rendezvous point, or just on the way?

ZA: Not sure, but I thought that such thing, maybe.



JD: Well, what's his name?

ZA: Now he's Motojima. But other time he was Obuchi.

JD: Obuchi. Dive bomber.

ZA: Two year class below me, naval academy. Here, my assistant.

JD: And then returned to the carrier? And then after the carrier, you had Port Darwin, but straight in and straight out. Nothing significant. You mentioned bad maps, is that correct? Poor maps?

ZA: Poor maps.

JD: And you just attacked what you thought was maybe a ship and then returned. And then how about the Indian Ocean

stories then? You have the *Cornwallis*, *Dorsetshire*, then *Cornwall*.

ZA: This April of 1942. We were always...

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Fifth of April '42. *Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall*. Two cruisers are sunk.

(Conversation in Japanese)

ZA: This one.

JD: Thank you very much.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: First day though, you attack air base on Colombo?

ZA: I don't know, remember, either one. Anyhow, air force from *Shokaku, Zuikaku*, sent to Salem Island to \_\_\_\_\_.

JD: *Akagi, Kaga?*

ZA: *Kaga* was \_\_\_\_\_, another mission. Was not with us.

JD: \_\_\_\_\_ no *Kaga*?

ZA: No, no *Kaga*.

JD: And *Akagi*.

ZA: *Akagi* and *Soryu, Hiryu*.

JD: Only three carriers?

ZA: No. *Shokaku, Zuikaku*.

JD: Five carriers. But no *Kaga*?

ZA: No *Kaga*.

JD: Oh, I thought *Kaga* was with.

ZA: I don't remember where *Kaga* was then, \_\_\_\_\_.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: So the first attack is on Ceylon?

Interpreter: Yes.

JD: Attacking \_\_\_\_\_ base and many, fourteen Spitfires and twenty-two Hurricanes came up to try to put up a fight, and six FU-MARS. But apparently they attacked airstrips and was very successful. And then April 5, attack, so I think the

attack April 5, *Dorsetshire*, the *Cornwall*. So did you also participate in this attack on the cruisers?

ZA: Cruisers.

JD: So how many dive-bombers attacked the many, many...

ZA: Aircraft carrier *Kaga* was not...

JD: Not participating.

ZA: Yeah. So Lieutenant Commander \_\_\_\_\_ led dive-bombers of *Akagi* and *Soryu*, *Hiryu*. He was the senior officer.

JD: Right.

ZA: So *Kaga* had three squadrons but *Akagi*, *Soryu*, *Hiryu*, each had two squadrons, mixed fifty-four. And Chihaya,

\_\_\_\_\_ Chihaya was at that time unhealthy, so I was the leader of the *Akagi*, two squadrons dive-bomber. Maybe fifty-three, fifty-four dive-bombers \_\_\_\_\_ *Dorsetshire* and the *Cornwall*.

JD: Late in the afternoon, right, I believe.

ZA: While the level bomber and the dive-bomber from *Shokaku*, *Zuikaku* went to Ceylon Island, seaplane farm *Dorsetshire* and the *Cornwall* about 200 miles down south of Ceylon Island.

JD: And so the next wave was the dive-bombers attacked the ships.

ZA: Yeah.

JD: So how many—I have American records, but—so many, many, from three carriers, *Akagi*, *Soryu*, and *Hiryu*, attacked

the *Cornwall, Dorsetshire*. And many, so many hits, no one could see, right, splashes?

ZA: Yeah. Just the \_\_\_\_\_, yet \_\_\_\_\_ from \_\_\_\_\_ and send me a present. “Oh, Abe-*san* hit seventeen hit within eighteen.”

JD: Of your group, of eighteen?

ZA: Oh, Mr. Lieutenant Chihaya was not so, seventeen \_\_\_\_\_ . *Dorsetshire* was seventeen.

JD: Seventeen...

ZA: And then \_\_\_\_\_ sixteen hits. So seventeen, on the record.

JD: Set the record.

ZA: \_\_\_\_\_. I didn't know  
they broke it.

(Inaudible)

Interpreter: More than ninety percent!

JD: Only one missing. Yes. Yes, all the air records are there,  
including the Pearl Harbor records \_\_\_\_\_.

ZA: And also ninth of April 1942, that same...

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: After four days, he again took over Mr. Chihaya's  
responsibility and flew to the target because they already  
found the aircraft carrier \_\_\_\_\_.

JD: \_\_\_\_\_?



Interpreter: Yeah.

JD: Next day, huh?

ZA: Mm-hmm.

Interpreter: But four days after that. Not next day.

JD: Hmmm. So the *Hermes*, how many attacked the *Hermes*?  
The dive-bombers or *waigeki* also or...

ZA: Only dive-bomber.

JD: ...only dive-bombers attacked the *Hermes*? Nagumo  
launched ninety planes against the British group. *Hermes*  
came under attack at 10:35 and she would sink by 10:55. So  
within twenty minutes, she was gone! Must have scored a  
lot of hits! Never had a chance, huh?

So any recollections of anything important or did things move, operationally, were things smooth or did they have problems re-arming, arm again, change from land bomb to ship bomb? How were the operations on *Akagi*? Pretty smooth or...?

Interpreter: On *Akagi*, the strong power quadrant are still waiting for emergency purposes. Still, the *Akagi* maintained their strong...

JD: Reserve.

Interpreter: Yeah, that's right. And waiting for extra operation, if necessary.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: When the first message was received from the observer, aircraft, to the high-speed ship is going the same way to such and such \_\_\_\_\_, at such and such knots. And then sometime after that first message, the second message said that not destroyer, it seems that these \_\_\_\_\_ are cruisers. So the commander of *Akagi* and the other carrier said that now prepare the torpedo and attack preparation. And they started installing the torpedo. But just before torpedo aircraft took off the carrier, another message, wireless message came in, the two are already sunk. These two...

JD: Two sunk?

Interpreter: Yeah. These two cruisers were destroyed by only diving bombers.

JD: Oh, Abe-san, dive-bombers destroyed them?

Interpreter: That's right. That's right.

JD: So no need for the torpedoes...

Interpreter: No need to prepare the \_\_\_\_\_ so stop take off. So at that, before that, even at Pearl Harbor, even the diving bomber cannot destroy the cruiser, so he was always doubtful to the diving bombing, but as far as that operation is concerned, they \_\_\_\_\_ conflict, that 250 kilograms bomb is used even for \_\_\_\_\_ British cruiser.

JD: Number twenty-five, 250 kilogram bomb.

Interpreter: Yeah. And also, getting back to the Pearl Harbor, he, on the way to Honolulu, Mr. Abe was very disappointed because the message was received that no aircraft can be seen.

JD: No aircraft carriers.

Interpreter: No, near the Hawaiian Islands. So he was very disappointed. So after many months, he get back to his conflict, that number twenty-five bomb is useful for even heavy, thick armor steel.

JD: Hmm. Well, it's always a question from the American point of view, why Japanese dive-bombers did not go to 300-kilogram or for that matter, 450-kilogram bomb?

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Because they're looking for range, they want to go with lighter bomb, better range. (smacks hands) More hitting power. The American bombs are much better to use, 1000 pounds, 400 kilogram bombs are much more potent weapon. To this day, I don't know why, even Abe-*san* in the Marianas, only a 250-kilogram bomb.

Interpreter: That's right. That's right.

JD: And the Americans are running with 1000 and even in some cases, 2000 pounders now. Eight hundred-fifty kilograms.

Interpreter: This is my imagination, as a general common sense, because of the capability of Japanese navy aircraft, I mean bombers, it might not be possible for them to carry much more weight.

JD: More weight.

Interpreter: That's right. That's right. As single engine bombers. Perhaps 250 might be maximum.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: He said that I knew dive-bomber is made with \_\_\_\_\_ that our general instruction to pilot said that this aircraft can be installed 500-kilogram bomb, but he himself never knew such a heavy bomb existed and made. I'm not quite sure. In my navy yard, we could use the torpedo on the greatest kind of bombs. Mainly, main production was number twenty-five and number eighty.

JD: Number eighty, high capacity \_\_\_\_\_.

Interpreter: That's right. But I have never known number fifty or something like that.

JD: Hmm. Interesting. We have to talk more about this torpedo stuff at a later time. Interesting, so interesting. So, you know, overview, *Abe-san*, any personal, you mentioned Kakuda, was what kind of officer, artillery? Kakuda? Admiral Kakuda was an artillery...

ZA: Gunnery.

JD: Gunnery officer. So you don't, in your opinion, he was not a good admiral?

Interpreter: Not at all.

JD: And Ozawa-*san*, at the end of the war, you mentioned you were in the Marianas campaign. You were on the second flight, second attack and only one to make Rota Island, only one?

ZA: Yeah.

JD: So he launched you one way to attack and then try to land at the islands? Is that correct, from the *Junyo*?

ZA: Yes. Fire station in Rota Islands, go over. And then I went to \_\_\_\_\_ Island as a prisoner.



JD: Oh, P.O.W.

ZA: For eighteen months, fifteen months.

JD: Oh. The *Junyo* trip, how far *Junyo* to the American task force did you launch?

ZA: About 400 miles.

JD: Four hundred miles.

Interpreter: Too far.

JD: Too far and then just release the bomb and made, crash landed on Rota? No target.

ZA: Order was Guam Island. Order, previous order was to...

JD: Guam?

ZA: ...was, yeah.

JD: But you end up in Rota? More north, right?

ZA: I didn't know Rota. I didn't know that, Rota. I thought  
\_\_\_\_\_. But I couldn't get Guam because four days  
previously, American Marine Corps already landed on the  
Saipan Island. So for Guam Island, lots of airplanes  
bombing, shooting before...

JD: Yes, the American...

ZA: \_\_\_\_\_.

JD: Right.

ZA: So I couldn't get Grumman...

JD: Many fighters.

ZA: (Chuckling)

JD: So you did go by Guam though and then you went...

ZA: I didn't, so, so.

JD: Just continued on to Rota and land.

Interpreter: You see, at that time, Saipan already invaded by U.S. Navy. But as you know, the island Guam and Saipan is just neighborhood.

JD: Next to it.

Interpreter: That's right. So nobody could land on such, just like enemy base, air base. So original instruction was also very

stupid. The original instruction to Mr. Abe said that be sure to land on Saipan, no Guam.

JD: Guam!

Interpreter: Air base, after attacking American fleet. And then you should be refueled and get back to some special point, instructed later. But he could never find out the Saipan Air Base because many Grummans were around it \_\_\_\_\_.

JD: They're all over. Oh.

Interpreter: But \_\_\_\_\_ was like excellent aircraft so he could escape his way.

JD: Speed, yeah.

Interpreter: Yes.

JD: Almost as fast as the Grumman, yeah.

Interpreter: And he flew down to the very narrow, the very...

JD: On the deck, on the water.

Interpreter: Yes, that's right. All of a sudden he find that a very narrow runway, that was, that island was maybe Rota Island. But he didn't know the name of Rota, only the runway.

JD: Runway and landed! So when he landed, was it nighttime already?

ZA: Fortunately I found Rota, but I didn't know that! In the air, between Saipan and \_\_\_\_\_, so I landed on Rota. Didn't know the name, with last drop of the gas, (chuckles), already low, *banzai*, enter, \_\_\_\_\_

toward water. But just very fortunately

\_\_\_\_\_.

JD: Small atoll island. Was it nighttime already?

ZA: Huh?

JD: Was it dark already when you landed? Still light, sunlight?

ZA: No, no. Getting dark.

JD: Getting dark then, just made it. Last drop of gas and last island.

Interpreter: But already more than 1500 in civilian and military people were existing at Rota Island before. So finally after some days after the war and he got \_\_\_\_\_ at the commander of that island, and he was captured by the U.S.S.

JD: In the war, P.O.W. [prisoner of war].

ZA: I remember about eleven o'clock in the morning, before  
noon, \_\_\_\_\_ *Junyo* until \_\_\_\_\_ Rota  
Island, I flew about seven, eight hours.

JD: \_\_\_\_\_. Good range.

ZA: Yeah. Eight hours.

JD: How many, when you took off the *Junyo*, how many planes  
took off \_\_\_\_\_, how many, nine?

ZA: Yes, nine.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Furthermore, there was extra unhappy story about that operation. The city of Iwakuni is a famous base point of Japanese military and navy. And Mr. Abe started Iwakuni city on April 10, no, May...

ZA: About the tenth of May 1942

Interpreter: ...May 10. And then finally took off *Junyo* by...

ZA: The nineteenth of June.

Interpreter: ...June. So this means after nearly forty days, after leaving the base point to the \_\_\_\_\_ south...

JD: What year is this? Nineteen forty-four?

ZA: Oh, forty-four.

JD: Forty-four.



Interpreter: But the southern sea is rather calm \_\_\_\_\_  
strong wind. So nobody could take off for training. And also  
the commander doesn't understand the air force, the  
capability exactly so that nobody start the engine or the  
service, no service in general prepared the technical service  
to the aircraft, etcetera. And then finally Mr. Abe and his  
staff took off but two of them, you see...

JD: Two planes.

Interpreter: Two planes, their landing system became out of  
order and immediately \_\_\_\_\_ down to return the carrier.  
And some other, Zero fighters were accompanied. But even  
these airplanes, some of them were disappeared on the way  
to American fleet. So actually Mr. Abe didn't know what  
happened to these missing airplanes, at the moment. But  
finally he landed emergency to the Rota small runway. He  
flew more than eight hours! But reason is due to that in

order to save fuel, he took off 6,000 meter without any oxygen masks. So the brain becomes just out of order and he felt headache, etcetera. And still they didn't know the excellent system of American radar system, so that fleet was near the island, all Japanese air force activity were caught by radar system. And so when Mr. Abe reached the American fleet, perhaps 4,000 or 5,000 meters over there, already the Grumman took off as a group, the fighter. And he was run after by speeding up the \_\_\_\_\_. Of course, before that, he had put that diving bombing to the center of the American fleet. Is that...

END OF TAPE ONE

TAPE TWO

JD: Tape 1A.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: He \_\_\_\_\_ that this naval academy was fourth degree university. And he is two years' junior from Mr. Chihaya.

JD: Chihaya was two years ahead then.

Interpreter: Chihaya graduated two years ago. And usually the graduate of the naval academy deal with each other closely but as far as Mr. Chihaya is concerned, he worked, coordinated each other at *Akagi* or some other place. But he's not special excellent officer nor the special capable man, something like that. So the, he was very common, very good friend of his. And but he can also recall that in the biography written by Mr. Minoru Genda, the author was describing the meeting at \_\_\_\_\_ at the inside of the *Akagi* aircraft carrier, just before the approach to the Hawaiian Islands. At that time, Mr. Genda approved, you

can transmit any wireless \_\_\_\_\_ in case they, he loses the way back, but Mr. Fuchida answered to Mr. Genda. Mr. Genda was senior commander, so, “Mr. Genda, that’s a good idea, but if the we do such a thing, the U.S.S. radar system can easily...”

JD: Radio direction.

Interpreter: Yes. Can locate us, so it’s very dangerous. So such an aircraft come down to a sea without transmitting any emergency signals. Such a discussion was very impressive to Mr. Abe at the moment, but he didn’t recall many things about him.

JD: About Chihaya-*san*, you mean?

Interpreter: Chihaya-*san*.

JD: So actually Genda said originally okay to transmit?

Interpreter: Yeah.

JD: To bring back these airplanes.

Interpreter: Yeah, emergencies. But when the missing way...

JD: Losing their way.

Interpreter: That's right, losing their way back.

JD: Way back to the, Fuchida said...

ZA: That was in the meeting...

Interpreter: At *Akagi*?

ZA: Yes. *Akagi*. The other thing, also aircrew.

\_\_\_\_\_. Not Genda...

Interpreter: Some other communication staff.

JD: Oh, I see. I see. Not Genda.

Interpreter: That was not...

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: You remember the elder brother of Chihaya.  
Historian?

JD: \_\_\_\_\_, Mr. Chihaya.

ZA: Chihaya Matsutaka.

JD: Yes.

ZA: Chihaya Matsutaka.

JD: Yes.

Interpreter: His personality?

JD: Not really. I don't know him that well.

Interpreter: Much, much more closed to than to Chihaya.

\_\_\_\_\_.

JD: Oh. So.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: So you were closer to Chihaya-*san*, Matsutaka, than his older brother. You yourself?

ZA: In the navy, I didn't know the elder brother.

JD: Oh.

ZA: He is six plus ahead of me naval academy. I didn't know him.

JD: Oh.

ZA: He was gunnery officer.

JD: Oh. Who is the *buntaichou* for Squadron One then? *Akagi kanbaku*?

ZA: *Kanbaku*? Chihaya.

JD: Matsutaka?

Interpreter: Chihaya.

ZA: Chihaya, Takeshi.



JD: His older brother?

ZA: Matsutaka is elder brother.

JD: Oh!

ZA: Matsutaka. He is living. He's a historian.

JD: Yes.

ZA: He's writing.

JD: Right. He's not the *kanbaku* though? Matsutaka?

ZA: Elder brother? He was a gunnery officer.

JD: How about the brother that's the *buntaichou*, Squadron  
Number One? *Kanbaku*?

ZA: Chihaya.

JD: Yes.

ZA: Takeshi.

JD: Takeshi.

(Conversation in Japanese)

ZA: He died 1944, in Marianas.

JD: Oh, Marianas.

ZA: Takeshi.

JD: From which carrier?

ZA: I think he was not then on the boat. Just maybe some air base, Marianas, and...

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: This is Takeshi?

Interpreter: *Hai*, Takeshi. He was the brother of Matsutaka.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Takeshi is actually younger brother?

ZA: Younger brother.

JD: So Takeshi is the *buntaichou* of Squadron One. So what was his personality like? Did you know him real well, Takeshi?

Interpreter: At that time, during the war, he knew quite well.

But there is no strong impression with him. Just same graduate of the naval academy, two years senior.

JD: Oh.

Interpreter: And before the war, two years senior...

JD: This is Matsutaka?

Interpreter: That's right, that's right. But Mr. Takeshi Chihaya was killed at the Marianas operation.

JD: Marianas.

Interpreter: As he was an observer aircraft pilot.

JD: In the two groups of *kanbaku* dive-bombers, was there any impression that you got from a special pilot that was

outstanding or unique? Was there anyone that you  
remember very well?

(Conversation in Japanese)

ZA: Yamada Shohei. The big one.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: *Kanbaku?*

Interpreter: *Kanbaku?*

JD: Squadron One or Squadron Two? Your squadron?

Interpreter: He was the *buntaichou* of Chihaya.

JD: Oh, Chihaya's *buntaichou*, under him?

ZA: Uh [yes].

JD: Why was he memorable to you? Why?

ZA: Huh?

JD: Why is he memorable to you?

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Mr. Yamada was also killed during the war. And he  
was very, very open-minded and always talking joke.

JD: Joking, very friendly?

Interpreter: Very friendly. And one year younger than Mr. Abe.

JD: So he was always full of life then?

Interpreter: That's right. And really a bright way of life.

JD: What is your impression of Murata-*san* on the *Akagi*?

Interpreter: \_\_\_\_\_ nickname was *Butsu*.

JD: *Butsu*?

Interpreter: *Butsu*.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Mr. Murata was a very skillful torpedo pilot and he was a reliable officer. And Mr. Genda and Fuchida relied very much on his skill. And they decided to make him the senior officer of the torpedo pilot and crew.

JD: So how did his nickname come about?

Interpreter: Oh, *Butsu* means looks like Buddha.

JD: Oh, round face like me? Round face then?

(Laughter)

Interpreter: That's why.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: The reason is due to that he never became upset,  
only very gentle and open-minded so looks like Buddha.

JD: Calm like a Buddha.

Interpreter: That's right.

JD: I see his face, not so round, huh? His face is...



Interpreter: But nobody knows when they were wartime. His hometown is located the north part of Kyushu.

JD: On Fukuoka side.

Interpreter: Yes. Yes.

JD: So question back to the Pearl Harbor raid, most dive-bombers attack, you said, traditionally they practice with the wind which way? With the wind, against the wind, crosswind? Most practice, you practice with the wind...

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Still good for now.

ZA: That's okay?

JD: Yeah. I have to make sure we have enough...

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Yes, please, continue.

Interpreter: He, first of all, he is talking about the direction of the glide.

JD: From the north?

Interpreter: Yeah. As far as the sixth turret, the bomber should approach by having the tailwind.

JD: Tailwind behind you.

Interpreter: Yeah, behind. That's a good coincidence, on the morning of December 9...

JD: December 8.

Interpreter: December 8, Japanese time, he had the west wind.

ZA: No, east wind.

JD: East wind, yes.

Interpreter: East wind, I see.

JD: Actually east by northeast, slightly north, but coming out of the east. That's correct. And then I noticed the first wave, I noticed they attacked with the wind at their back, dive-bombers on airfields. Second wave, some this way, some with the wind, some, every wave but the opposite, no. But not necessarily with the wind at their back. Little bit more south, little bit more north, some directly from the east, with the wind, but not everybody attacked this way. Why is it? Was it changed?

Interpreter: No.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Actually I have never known about the explanation in the past because *Zuikaku*, *Shokaku*, these aircraft carrier were just built.

JD: Brand new.

Interpreter: Brand new.

JD: Crews were new.

Interpreter: This means that all crew and pilot skill is rather little bit behind on the senior class of pilot crews. So the commander instructed to all these young, these pilots and crews, to attack the air base \_\_\_\_\_, yeah,

because even the bomber could not \_\_\_\_\_ exactly they  
can destroy something.

JD: Still hit something.

Interpreter: Yeah, yeah, yeah. Right. On the second wave of  
people were originally instructed to attack the aircraft  
carrier near the Hawaiian Islands.

JD: \_\_\_\_\_.

Interpreter: Two or three hundred miles away around the  
Hawaiian Islands, but when the aircraft carrier near there  
saw Mr. Abe and their staff and all the other second wave  
attack aimed to the big ship, they tried to attack as bigger  
than big...

JD: As possible.

Interpreter: Yeah, as possible. So someone aimed at the big ship even if...

JD: Battleships and cruisers, big ships.

Interpreter: Even in the demanding \_\_\_\_\_. And he himself aimed at some big ships.

JD: Big ships. Oh, so Abe-*san*, if, as you launched the second wave, if the spotter planes spotted an American carrier in the ocean, you would've diverted to attack the carrier in the ocean then? Is that correct?

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Both carriers are out of harbor. Third carrier is in dry dock on the West Coast. If on his way to Hawaii, spotter plane spots an American carrier in the ocean...

ZA: *Lexington* or *Enterprise*...

JD: Right, *Enterprise*...

ZA: ...*Midway*, *Lexington*...

JD: Oh yeah. Or *Lexington* coming back. Would you change course to attack the carriers then?

Interpreter: Yes, of course. *So, desho?*

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: So you said within 300 miles of the Hawaiian Islands?

Interpreter: That's right. Approach \_\_\_\_\_. But nobody could find any of the aircraft carrier near there, except even *Lexington* was moving around there but nobody knew much.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: He is talking about very impressive \_\_\_\_\_  
story about the Pearl Harbor attack on that day. Because  
before taking off the aircraft carrier, originally they were  
instructed to make a bombing by diving directly to the  
\_\_\_\_\_ aircraft carriers.

JD: Aircraft carriers, if they were there.

Interpreter: If there because in technical viewpoint, it was known  
that 250-kilogram bomb cannot destroy the very thick armor  
steel, consisted of your battleship.

JD: Battleship.

Interpreter: Or even cruiser. So be sure to aim at target of...

JD: Aircraft carrier.



Interpreter: ...aircraft. But nobody confirm it. So they changed especially Mr. Chihaya, they almost suddenly changed their target to shot. And they concentrated on...

JD: Other ships.

Interpreter: Near Oahu island.

JD: Was there any plan if the carriers were spotted in the ocean, they would alter to attack the carriers?

Interpreter: Yeah.

JD: That's correct. Well, again, back to the earlier question, second wave came, okay to alter the attack from wind behind or wind little bit to the side is okay? The direction of the attack? Looks like the attack, the wind is this way, east. Some attacked this way, some yes. Some little bit like this.

Interpreter: It is true that the initial policy was changed all at sudden, just over the Oahu island. So the, perhaps some maybe mixed attacking policy was adopted. But even though the anti-aircraft gun was seriously came up, but still Mr. Abe was quiet to make, to expect the accurate target shifting by piloting his own aircraft. And for example, even as he mentioned before, the rather, no skillful pilot and crew attacked...

JD: Airfields.

Interpreter: ...airfields.

JD: *Zuikaku* and *Shokaku*.

Interpreter: At that time, they destroyed from the under the tail end so the black smoke, the burning, like this way, so they

can easily find out that new one, with that burning. That was very efficient attacking...

JD: So they bombed downwind first and then upwind?

Interpreter: That's right. But sometimes probably it was not possible to follow up this kind of accurate way.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Ah, Murata-*san*, *Butsu!*

(Laughter)

JD: I guess he does have a thicker face than I thought, yes.

Picture of Murata-*san*. Interesting.

Interpreter: So Mr. Abe is repeating that most important assignment over the Oahu island is to release their torpedo.

So the first wave pilots' crew were instructed not to disturb...

JD: The torpedo...

Interpreter: ...torpedo attack by making the black smoke near there. In the middle of the second wave attack, they cannot distinguish the, warn each other because everything gets confusing, very serious gunfire and black smoke and the hit cloud and etcetera. So very confusing.

JD: In the *Darwin*, Indian Ocean, Dutch Harbor, where you attacked both ship and land targets, was it still common practice to attack with the wind at the back?

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Unfortunately or fortunately it was no good wind, no strong wind.

JD: No strong wind.

Interpreter: Very calm conditions.

JD: In the Indian Ocean?

Interpreter: Yes, very quiet at most there.

JD: Oh, so it didn't matter which way.

Interpreter: No. So in the enemy fleet, enemy aircraft carrier cannot make any plane take off. That was a problem for the enemy \_\_\_\_\_. Of course, they have the same problem.

JD: \_\_\_\_\_. Calm, calm \_\_\_\_\_.

Interpreter: Yeah, calm sea. Very flat surface. No wind.

JD: How about the *Darwin* operation? With the wind?

ZA: That was February 9, 19...

JD: Forty-two, right?

ZA: Oh, forty-two. That's right, forty-two.

Interpreter: Actually...

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: The basic policy was always act on tailwind.

JD: Tailwind.

Interpreter: Yes. And then the pilot, should he make such a sharp degree diving at fifty-five...

JD: Fifty-five degrees.

Interpreter: Yes.

JD: And about 200 knots speed? Two-twenty.

ZA: Two-twenty...

JD: Two-thirty?

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Depending on the wind condition, such a basic targeting course was changed, subject to change according to the wind speed. So sometimes they have to bomb against the moving target, rather not sharp degree, forty or forty-five degree. And also sometimes they have to dive, facing the sunshine. That kind of policy change subject to the condition of the wind.

JD: So basically it was wind at the back though.

Interpreter: That's right.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Dutch Harbor attack was rare exception because no  
wind. Also the thick cloud was over the island.

JD: Cloud or fog?

Interpreter: Cloud. And he couldn't...

ZA: Fog, cloud.

JD: Cloud and fog.



Interpreter: Cloudy. And he couldn't find where is the Dutch Harbor. Even the small hole over the cloud. So he can't find the target. So he decided to instruct all his staff to get back to the aircraft carrier *Junyo*. If...

JD: So this is the first raid on Dutch Harbor, you couldn't see anything so you returned?

Interpreter: That's right. He didn't...

JD: Just returned.

Interpreter: \_\_\_\_\_ returned.

JD: So how many raids at Dutch Harbor did the *kanbaku* dive-bombers participate in?

ZA: How many?

JD: How many times?

(Conversation in Japanese)

ZA: First time, two squadron, eighteen.

JD: Eighteen.

ZA: Eighteen, two squadrons. With nine Zero fighter. And I  
\_\_\_\_\_ along the side of the, far side of Unalaska  
Island, covered by the cloud, thick cloud. And I thought  
couldn't attack, couldn't invade so came back \_\_\_\_\_  
cloud.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: That is the most unhappy war story about his  
experience, I think. As Mr. Abe mentioned to you at

lunchtime, the commander Kakuda was not excellent in operating the air force.

JD: He was a gunnery officer.

Interpreter: That's right.

JD: He was not a real aircraft carrier man.

Interpreter: No.

JD: So, he mentioned this at lunchtime.

Interpreter: And he took off totaling eighteen bombers. And flew to near the Dutch Harbor at fifty meters height, very...

JD: Fifty meters off the water?

Interpreter: Yeah, yeah.

JD: Very low.

Interpreter: Just low...

ZA: Thick mist and cloud.

Interpreter: Yeah.

JD: Fifty meters?

Interpreter: Yeah.

JD: From the water?

Interpreter: Fifty meter. So you are...

ZA: (Inaudible)

JD: Right on the deck. Right on the deck?

ZA: Yeah.

JD: Wow! All eighteen dive-bombers on the deck looking for target?

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: You see, single aircraft can come into the thick cloud but if the fleet, aircraft fleet cannot come into the thick cloud to avoid the air crash.

JD: Right, collisions.

Interpreter: So he tried to make a very special low-level flight to near the Dutch Harbor. But you see, as I repeated the dive-bombers should dive very sharp degree, so he couldn't \_\_\_\_\_ bombing. And then went back to the aircraft

carrier *Junyo* to explain to the commander, but still  
commander wanted to try again. So he took off.

JD: Same day?

Interpreter: Same, not...

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: On June 3, the first wave and then the afternoon of  
June 3 and then in the morning of June 4, he took off,  
totaling, consisting of eighteen bombers.

JD: Three attacks?

Interpreter: No, no, second attack.

JD: The first attack is abort, came back, return.

Interpreter: Yeah.

JD: Second attack, same thing? No bomb?

ZA: \_\_\_\_\_ no bomb.

JD: And return again, second time.

Interpreter: And still the commander, "Try again."

JD: Kakuda?

Interpreter: Kakuda, but stupid commanding. So the pilots and the crews are not skillful so it's very dangerous to take all of them, just he did yesterday. So the third time, he selected only eleven aircraft to the, cutting off the junior staff. And eleven bombers went to Dutch Harbor again. Still was not successful. So this is the most impressive story because Mr. Abe is always very, very honest man during his life. If I were

pilot, I would release all the members, their bomb into the sea and then upon landing, returning to the carrier, the commander, everything \_\_\_\_\_. It's finished. But he never did so.

JD: So returned with bombs, back to the carrier.

Interpreter: Yeah. Very dangerous.

JD: So three times could not find any target, all three times.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: He adopted such a strict policy not to come into the thick cloud with other \_\_\_\_\_ aircraft because just one month before that time, his very close classmate of the naval academy named Mr. Nikaido, made the mistake of nearly in the cloud, just near here, and he was killed.



JD: Land in cloud or collision?

Interpreter: Inside of, in the thick cloud. And saw the  
\_\_\_\_\_. The very strong impression was impressed  
upon his brain before he took off *Junyo*. So he said his staff  
would never come into the thick cloud together with, as a  
fleet. Only you can fly under the cloud as a fleet. So that is  
the reason why he took such a low-level flight. So this  
means that your PBY, the very huge observer, the aircraft,  
they could discover his fleet. That was another problem.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: You see, the circumstances very serious because  
your PBY always watching at the Japanese fleet near there.  
Even the third wave came over the Dutch Harbor very, thirty  
to fifty meters, so very dangerous. So the third time, just  
before taking off third time wave, Mr. Abe was having in his

mind perhaps we cannot get back to this carrier, probably.

So...

JD: Hard to fly back...

Interpreter: That's right. So perhaps this is a good-bye, we can't see each other forever. So he took off. And but still he cannot express his \_\_\_\_\_ for the commander because the classification is very lower and higher. And but Commander, Admiral Kakuda said by wireless communication to his staff other fleet of level bombers did a very successful bombing. Why Mr. Abe couldn't do such a successful bombing to Dutch Harbor, he mentioned. Level bombing and dive-bombing as entirely different business. But this was never understood by Mr. Kakuda. This was a very sad story.

JD: 'Cause *Junyo* had the dive-bombers?

Interpreter: Yeah, that's right.

JD: How about *Ryujo*? No dive-bombers?

ZA: *Ryujo*, no dive-bombers, *Ryujo*. Smaller one.

JD: Smaller. Level bomber?

ZA: Level bomber and fighter. Fighter, Zero fighter.

JD: Oh! So *Junyo* had the dive-bombers and fighters?

ZA: Also level bombers.

JD: So they could see, then. They could see? The level bombers could see and made an attack?

ZA: Ah [yes].

JD: Why did Abe-*san* also fly in 3000 meters, so maybe he could see better? No?

ZA: *Ano...*

JD: Level bombers could see from 3000 meters.

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Then they flew up to the 2000 meters, just under the aircraft, the very bright, white cloud, with bright sunshine, but there was no hole to look at that, where is that land or port or what sea.

JD: So three attacks, no...

Interpreter: No result.

JD: After the Dutch Harbor, the disaster at Midway, Kakuda was ordered to stand by. He did not find any spot, any American ships? 'Cause Kakuda is now south of Dutch Harbor. Admiral Theobald is actually real close to him, several cruisers in all trying to, in between here and Midway. So he's very close. Maybe even 100 or 200 miles apart. But no one spotted Admiral Theobald's cruiser force, two cruisers and several destroyers?

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Midway operation and Aleutian operation were done almost at the same time. And *Junyo* had some of the fighters to be landed on Midway after getting together. But at that time, just up to the attacking Dutch Harbor, the Admiral Kakuda become to understand in Midway the Japan navy made a big mistake. So there was no place to land on. So Mr. Kakuda didn't do anything more.

JD: So after Dutch Harbor, they went straight back to Tokyo?

Returned to Tokyo?

Interpreter: Yes.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: This is a map of Dutch Harbor.

Interpreter: Dutch Harbor.

JD: Dutch Harbor map. This is north, north is over here.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: North is over here.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: So you have this big peninsula here.

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Is it Amak Island?

Interpreter: Mr. Abe explained to me just now that furthermore what is the main purpose of attacking Dutch Harbor. What kind of facility is located? What kind of fleet is staying? Nobody knows. And still Mr. Kakuda wanted to have Mr. Abe and his staff take off the *Junyo*. It's a stupid \_\_\_\_\_.

JD: I think I don't know. I thought maybe as a diversionary for the Midway operation.

Interpreter: Mm-hmm.

JD: Draw, because slightly before Midway, to draw everyone's attention over here.

Interpreter: Mm-hmm.

JD: And then attack Midway.

Interpreter: That's right. But as he correctly explain to me, that was a big mistake in judging the operation point. But in the Dutch Harbor \_\_\_\_\_, there was no aim. There was no target so they commenced this operation from the absolutely erroneous target shooting. There was no target.

JD: *Abe-san*, Dutch Harbor ordnance, armed with anti-ship or anti-land bomb?

(Conversation in Japanese)

Interpreter: Excuse me.

(Conversation in Japanese)



ZA: Anti-ship.

(Inaudible)

JD: So your main target would be to attack ships?

ZA: \_\_\_\_\_ over \_\_\_\_\_. We didn't  
\_\_\_\_\_.

JD: Didn't have any map, detail map.

ZA: No, no, no, no.

JD: Really?

ZA: Hmm [yes], *so*.

ZA: Unalaska Island, after the attack, the landing point is appointed this western end of Unalaska Island. And I found in the dog fighting with the P-40, I found American airstrip here.

JD: So P-40s came up to meet you?

ZA: Yeah.

JD: So where is Dutch Harbor on this? Here?

ZA: Dutch Harbor, here.

JD: More north...

(Conversation in Japanese)

ZA: *Junyo, Ryujo* was 200 miles south from here.

\_\_\_\_\_. Dutch Harbor. We didn't uphold  
those, Dutch Harbor.

JD: So it looks like you came straight up, you looked around  
then you went left, all the way around and you came by the  
P-40 base.

ZA: Yeah, under cloud. Maybe 200 meters, fifty meters under  
the cloud.

JD: Under the clouds, off the surface. Off the ocean surface, fifty  
meters?

ZA: Yeah, yeah.

JD: Or under the cloud?

ZA: Under cloud.

JD: So, but not close to the ocean surface, huh?

ZA: Yes. Cloudy.

JD: All cloudy.

ZA: Was too, just straight here. We didn't, we had to come  
through this \_\_\_\_\_ in order to get...

JD: Back to the carrier.

ZA: Carrier. Back. Air...

JD: What island is this? Another island, different island?

ZA: Unalaska Island.

JD: Oh. So you were flying what altitude though, what altitude, about?

ZA: Under the cloud always.

JD: Always under the cloud. Must have been foggy too.

ZA: After attack, towards cloud is Bering Sea.

JD: But couldn't see anything, right? Couldn't see? So you turn around left, come back down to the slot between the two islands and P-40s came into your group?

ZA: Yes. Yes.

JD: Did you lose anybody?

(Conversation in Japanese)

JD: Over Dutch Harbor.

(Conversation in Japanese)

END OF TAPE TWO

TAPE THREE

END OF INTERVIEW